PEARLS cast before SWINE,

BY

EDMUND BURKE,

SCRAPED TOGETHER BY

OLD HUBERT.

THEY come from one—who wiſhes to preſerve CONSISTENCY; but who would preſerve consistency by varying means to ſecure the *unity of his end*.——and where the equipoiſe of the veſſel in which he ſails, may be endangered by overloading it upon one ſide, is desirous of carrying the ſmall weight of his reaſons to that which may preſerve its equipoiſe ——In England we feel the influence of the Bank.——Who will labour without knowing the amount of his pay.——Without inſtruments theſe Princes can do nothing.—A politician to do great things, looks for a power, what our workmen call a *purchase*; and if he finds that power, in politics as in mechanics, HE CANNOT BE AT A LOSS TO APPLY IT—Hypocriſy delights in the moſt *ſublime* ſpeculations; for never intending to go beyond ſpeculation, it costs nothing to have it magnificent—But,—the ears of the People of England are diſtinguiſhing, they hear theſe men ſpeak broad, their tongue betrays them, their language is the *patois* of fraud, in the cant and gibberiſh of hypocriſy.

Burke's reflections on the revolution in France. *passim.*

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PEARLS caſt before SWINE.

I.

WHEN the people conceive that *laws*, and *tribunals*, and even *popular aſſemblies*, are perverted from the ends of their inſtitution, they find in the names of degenerated eſtabliſhments only new motives to diſcontent. Thoſe bodies, which, when full of life and beauty, lay in their arms, and were their joy and comfort, when dead and putrid become but the more loathſome from remembrance of former endearments. A ſullen gloom and furious diſorder prevail by fits; the nation loſes its reliſh for peace and proſperity, as it did in that ſeaſon of fullneſs which opened our troubles in the time of Charles the firſt.

II.

The King is the repreſentative of the People; ſo are the Lords; ſo are the Judges. They are all Truſtees for the People, as well as the Commons; becauſe no power is given for the ſole ſake of the holder; and although Government certainly is an inſtitution of divine Authority, yet its forms, and the perſons who adminiſter it, *all originate from the People.*

III.

Where popular diſcontents have been very prevalent; it may well be affirmed and ſupported, that there has been generally ſomething found *amiſs* in the CONSTITUTION, or in the *conduct of Government.*

IV.

He is but a poor obſerver, who has not ſeen, that the *generality of* PEERS, far from ſupporting themſelves in a ſtate of independent greatneſs, are but too apt to fall into an oblivion of their proper dignity, and to run headlong into *an abject ſervitude* — Would to God it were that the fault of our Peers were too much ſpirit.*

V. When

*The engliſh nobility are referred to in the foregoing paragraph. The french nobility, by way of contraſt, we may ſuppoſe, are thus deſcribed by this author. "I found your nobility for the greater part, compoſed of men of an high ſpirit, and of a delicate ſenſe of honour, both with regard to themſelves individually and with regard to their whole corps, in their converſation frank and open, with a good military tone."

V.

When men imagine that their food is only a cover for poiſon, and when they neither love nor truſt the hand that ſerves it, it is not the name of the *roaſt beef of old England*, that will perſwade them to ſit down to the table that is ſpread for them.

VI.

What ſhall we think of him who never differed from a certain ſet of men until the moment they loſt their power, and who never agreed in a ſingle inſtance afterwards?

VII.

An addreſſing Houſe of Commons, and a petitioning Nation; an Houſe of Commons full of confidence when the Kingdom is plunged in deſpair; in the utmoſt harmony with Miniſters, whom the people regard with the utmoſt abhorrence; who vote thanks, when the public opinion calls upon them for impeachments; who are eager to grant, when the general voice demands account; who, in all diſputes between the people and adminiſtration, preſume againſt the people; who puniſh their diſorders, but refuſe even to enquire into the provocations to them; this is an *unnatural, a monſtrous ſtate* of things in this Conſtitution. Such an aſſembly may be a great, wiſe, awful Senate; but *it is not to any popular purpoſe an Houſe of Commons.*

VIII.

They who will not conform their conduct to the public good and cannot ſupport it by the prerogative of the crown, have adopted a new plan. They have totally abandoned the ſhattered and old faſhioned fortreſs of prerogative, and made a lodgement in the ſtrong hold of Parliament itſelf.

If they have any evil deſign to which there is no ordinary legal power commenſurate, they bring it into Parliament. In Parliament the whole is executed from beginning to the end; in Parliament the power of obtaining their object, is abſolute and the ſafety in the proceeding perfect. No rules to confine, no after reckonings to terrify. Parliament cannot with any great propriety puniſh others for things in which they themſelves have been accomplices.*

*This conſiſtent ſtrewer of pearls tells us in a work of another date. "In juſtice to that old faſhioned conſtitution under which we have ſo long proſpered our repreſentation has been perfectly adequate to all the purpoſes for which a repreſentation of the the people can be deſired or deviſed.—I defy the enemies of our conſtitution to ſhew the contrary"

Burkes Reflections.

IX.

If any asks me what a free Government is, I anſwer, that for any practical purpoſe, it is what *the People* think ſo, and that they, and not I, are the natural, lawful and competent judges of this matter.

X.

It is not to be argued that we endure no grievances, becauſe our grievances are not of the ſame ſort with thoſe under which we laboured formerly; not preciſely thoſe which we bore under the Tudors, or vindicated on the Stewarts.

XI.

In the ſituation in which we ſtand, with an immenſe revenue, an enormous debt, mighty eſtabliſhments, Government itſelf a great banker and a great merchant, I ſee no other way for a decent attention to public intereſt in the Repreſentatives, but *the interposition of the body of the people itſelf*, whenever it ſhall appear, by ſome flagrant and notorious act, by ſome capital innovation, that theſe Repreſentatives are going to overleap the fences of the law, and to introduce an arbitary power.†

XII.

Untill a confidence in Government is re-eſtabliſhed, the people ought to be excited to a more ſtrict & detailed attention to the conduct of their Repreſentatives. *Standards, for judging more ſyſtematically upon their conduct, ought to be ſettled in the*

†Such a ſituation appears to be here refered to as we find deſcribed with ſtudious accuracy in a letter to our author by Sir Brooke Boothby. "When the ſtagnant and ſtinking waters of corruption ſhall have pervaded every avenue of the State; when there ſhall be a houſe of commons chiefly conſiſting of placemen, penſioners, hungry expectants, India delinquents, and every other deſcription of miniſterial dependants, kenelled like hounds and crouching for employment; repreſentatives repreſenting nothing but their own perſonal intereſt; a houſe of lords of new creatures of the miniſter, and old valets of the king, courtly lawyers and a courtly hierarchy—Nihil uſquam priſci aut integri moris; omnes exuta equalitate, juſſa principis aſpectantes; the nation itſelf infected with a narrow ſelfiſh egotiſm, where every man feels himſelf the centre point of his own little circle of luxuries and conveniences, and holds a ſtupid indifference to the public concern. I have ſtated, I think, nothing impoſſible to conceive, or unlikely to happen from our actual tendencies; under ſuch a ſuppoſition, even you, Sir, will I believe allow, that though the forms of the conſtitution might be preſerved and the laws yet remain in force, with the liberty the people were ſtill permitted to enjoy might be fairly conſidered as the will of the crown; it would ſtand on no deeper a foundation than the will or virtue of the BRUNSWICKS of that day; as the mildneſs of their deſpotiſm to the ſweet

the meetings of Counties and Corporations, frequent and correct liſt of the voters in all important queſtions ought to be procured,

Whilſt men are linked together, they eaſily and ſpeedily communicate the alarm of any evil deſign. They are enabled to fathom it with common counſel, and to oppoſe it with united ſtrength. Whereas, when they lie diſperſed, without concert, order, or diſcipline, communication is uncertain, counſel difficult, and reſiſtance impracticable.

XIII.

When bad men combine, the good muſt aſſociate; elſe they will fall, *one by one*, an unpitied ſacrifice in a contemptible ſtruggle.

*XIV.

It is an inconteſtible truth that there is more havock, made in one year by men of men, than has been made by all the Lions, Tygers, Panthers, Ounces, Leopards, Hyenas, Rhinoceroſes, Elephants, Bears, and Wolves, upon their ſeveral Species, ſince the Beginning of the World, though theſe agree ill enough with each other, and have a much greater proportion of rage and fury in their compoſition than we have.

XV.

The artificial diviſion of Mankind into ſeparate Societies is a perpetual ſource in itſelf of Hatred and Diſſention among them. The names which diſtinguiſh them are enough to blow up Hatred and Rage. Examine hiſtory; Conſult preſent experience; and you will find, that far the greater part of the quarrels between ſeveral Nations, had ſcarce any other occaſion, than that theſe Nations were different Combinations of People and called by different Names; to an *Engliſhman*, the name of a *Frenchman*, a *Spaniard*, an *Italian*, much more a *Turk* or a Tartar, raiſe of courſe Ideas of hatred and contempt. If you would inſpire this Compatriot of ours with pity or regard for one of theſe would you not hide that Diſtinction? you would not pray him to com-

*The preceding paragraphs are ſelected from a work entitled, "Thoughts on the cauſe of the preſent diſcontents, the following ones from A Vindication of Natural Society, by the ſame author, the deſign of this publication, this ingenious author ſays, is only to ſhew that—the ſame engines which have been employed for the deſtruction of religion, may be employed with equal ſucceſs for the ſubverſion of government.

compaſſionate the poor *Frenchman* or the unhappy *German*. Far from it, you would ſpeak of him as a *Foreigner*, an accident to which all are liable. You would repreſent him as A MAN; one partaking with us of the ſame common nature, and ſubject to the ſame law. There is ſomething ſo averſe from our nature in theſe artificial political Diſtinctions, that we need no other trumpet to kindle us to War and Deſtruction. But there is ſomething ſo benign and healing in the general voice of humanity, that maugre all our regulations to prevent it, the ſimple name of man applied properly, never fails to work a ſalutary Effect.

XVI.

Let us take the review of the Dungeons, Whips, Chains, Racks, Gibbets, with which every ſociety is abundantly ſtored, by which Hundreds of victims are annually offered up *to ſupport* A DOZEN OR TWO *in pride and madneſs, and* MILLIONS *in an abject ſervitude and dependence.* There was a time when I looked with a reverential awe on theſe myſteries of policy; but Age, Experience, and Philoſophy have rent the Veil; and I view this *Sanctum Sanctorum*, at leaſt, without any enthuſiaſtic admiration. I acknowledge indeed the neceſſity of ſuch a Proceeding in ſuch Inſtitutions; but *I muſt have a very mean opinion of Inſtitutions where ſuch proceedings are neceſſary.*

XVII.

In thoſe few places where men enjoy what they call LIBERTY, it is continually in a tottering ſituation, and makes greater and greater ſlides to that Gulph of deſpotiſm which at laſt ſwallows up every ſpecies of Government. This manner of ruling being directed merely by *the will of the* WEAKEST, and generally the WORST man in the ſociety, becomes the moſt fooliſh and capricious thing, at the ſame time that it is the moſt terrible and deſtructive that well can be conceived.

XVIII.

In a Deſpotiſm the principal perſon finds, that let the want, miſery, and indigence of his ſubjects, be what they will, he can yet poſſeſs abundantly of every thing to gratify his moſt inſatiable wiſhes. He does more. He finds that theſe gratifications increaſe in proportion to the Wretchedneſs and Slavery of his Subjects, thus encouraged both by Paſſion and Intereſt to trample on the publick Welfare, and by his ſtation placed above both ſhame and Fear.

moſt horrid and ſhocking outrages upon Mankind. Their perſons become victims of his ſuſpicions. The ſlighteſt diſpleaſure is death and a diſagreeable aſpect is often as great a crime as High Treaſon.

XIX.

What has been ſaid of the chief, is true, of the inferior officers of this ſpecies of Government, each in his province exerciſing the ſame Tyranny and grinding the People by an oppreſſion, the more ſeverely felt, as it is near them and exerciſed by baſe and ſubordinate perſons. For the groſs of the people they are conſidered as a *mere herd of Cattle*; and really in a little time become no better; all principle of honeſt Pride, all the ſenſe of the Dignity of their Nature is loſt in their ſlavery. The day, ſays Homer, which makes a man a ſlave, takes away half his worth; and in fact, he loſes every impulſe to action, but that low and baſe one of Fear. In this kind of Government human nature is not only abuſed and inſulted, but it is actually degraded and ſunk into a ſpecies of brutality.

XX.

Speaking of the Nobles in the republic of Venice, our Author ſays. They conſider their ſubjects as the farmer does the *Hog* which he intends to feaſt upon. He holds him faſt in his ſtye, but allows him to wallow as much as he pleaſes in his beloved filth and gluttony.

XXI.

The moſt obvious diviſion of ſociety is into rich and poor and it is no leſs obvious that the number of the former bear a great diſproportion to thoſe of the latter. The whole buſineſs of the poor, is to adminiſter to the idleneſs, folly, and luxury of the rich, and that of the rich in return is to find the beſt method of confirming the ſlavery and increaſing the burthens of the poor.

XXII.

We ſcarce ever had a Prince who by fraud or violence had not made ſome infringement on the conſtitution. We ſcarce ever had a parliament knew when it attempted to ſet limits to the royal authority, how to ſet limits to its own; evils we have had continually calling for reformation, and reformation more grevious than any evils; our boaſted liberty ſome-

ſometimes trodden down, ſometimes giddily ſet up, and for ever precariouſly fluctuating and unſettled, it has been only kept up by the blaſts of continual feuds, wars and conſpiracies. In no country in Europe has the ſcaffold ſo often bluſhed with the blood of its Nobility: confiſcations, baniſhments, attainders, executions, make a large part of the hiſtory of ſuch families as are not utterly extinguiſhed by them.

XXIII.

Let us expoſtulate with theſe learned ſages, theſe prieſts of the ſacred temple of Juſtice, are we judges of our own property? By no means. You then who are initiated into the myſteries of the blindfold Goddeſs, inform me whether I have a right to eat the bread which I have earned by the hazard of my life, or the ſweat of my brow? the grave doctor anſwers me in the affirmative. The reverend ſerjeant replies in the negative; the learned barriſter reaſons upon one ſide and upon the other, and concludes nothing. What ſhall I do? an antagoniſts ſtarts up and preſſes me hard, I enter the field and retain theſe three perſons to defend my cauſe, my cauſe which two farmers from the plough could have decided in half an hour, takes the court twenty years. I am however at the end of my labour, and have in reward for all my toil and vexation a judgment in my favour: But, hold, a ſagacious commander in the adverſaries army has found a flaw in the proceedings. My triumph is turned into mourning. I have uſed *or* inſtead of *and*, or ſome miſtake, ſmall in appearance, but dreadful in its conſequence, and have, the whole of my ſucceſs quaſhed in a writ of error. I remove my ſuit, I ſhift from court to court, I fly from equity to law and from law to equity, equal uncertainty attends me every where: And a miſtake in which I had no ſhare, decides at once upon my Liberty and Property, ſending me from the court to a priſon, and adjudging my family to beggary and famine.

FINIS.